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3 February 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

SUBJECT: Private Vietnam Memoranda

1. Attached is a book of whose contents you should be aware. These are the private memoranda on Vietnam matters that I have written (as an individual) for Dr. Kissinger since August 1972.
2. The first memo ("Factors Influencing the Decision-Making Process in Hanoi", 3 August 1972) started life as a draft for an institutional Agency response to a request from Dr. Kissinger. (The request arose in a July discussion about logistics inputs from China. I had noted that such data were but one of the many factors influencing Hanoi's decision-making process. Dr. Kissinger countered with a request for an analysis of all of these factors.) Some of my Agency colleagues, particularly in OCI, took such violent exception to my draft -- particularly its treatment of stresses Hanoi was under and strains they might possibly be producing within the Politburo -- that they were unwilling to use the draft as a basis for coordination. Mr. Helms liked the paper as I had written it and decided to send it along to Dr. Kissinger as a personal contribution, not an institutional product.
3. The 16 October estimate of "President Thieu's Probable Reaction to the Emerging package" was written at Dr. Kissinger's request -- levied in a 14 October conversation in Washington -- and cabled (by the White House) to him in Paris before he went on to Saigon. I have since been told (I think reliably) that Dr. Kissinger disliked this memo intensely but my credibility increased in his estimation when Thieu proceeded to follow the script outlined almost to the letter.
4. All of the rest of these memoranda were written at Dr. Kissinger's express request, with two exceptions:
  - a. The 15 December note on the [ ] was self-initiated, as indicated in the buckslip comment to Mr. Helms.

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b. The 21 December memorandum on "Hanoi's Game and Current Game Plan", which Dr. Kissinger asked me to write on 19 December, was apparently relayed to him in Key Biscayne. He called me at home that night (21 December) to discuss it. During our rather lengthy telephone conversation he kept asking what I thought we ought to do. These questions led me to write the "Notes On a Possible US Game Plan", which I gave him at the White House on 23 December. (He gave me a bottle of Israeli champagne from a case Golda Meir had sent him for Christmas.)

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George A. Carver, Jr.  
Special Assistant for Vietnamese Affairs

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